537 /119 cont./
539 Listen to the mountain, the Bawakaraeng,
643 the never-loosening anchor,
such am I, too,
and only he who can be trusted in this way,
can truly be trusted.
If the Royal Council removes to the west,
then I will also go to the west;
if it removes to the east,
I will also go to the east. /120/
But if the Royal Council resides
with you, my Prince, in the ancestral gathering hall, then I will remain below (1).

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1. That is to say, I will not take part in the conference; I follow. Makassarese dwellings are built on posts. If the prince confers with his Royal Council, the lower people wait under the house and listen in.

Opposition

571 Fairchild's definition of the concept "opposition" gives a good picture of conditions in South Celebes. He defines it by: "resistance to or efforts to prevent or offset the efforts or ideas of another person or group, not necessarily accompanied by attitudes of anger or purpose to destroy or injure the opponent" (2) /cited in English/. This term will be used here.

2. H.P. Fairchild, Dictionary of Sociology, New York, 1944.

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MI [359 cont.]
175 Company. An expedition was equipped to punish the sultan.
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721 After a fierce battle in 1784 Riouw was conquered and the sultan was forced to recognize the Netherlands administration as his
MI overlord, from whom he had his state in fee. The sultan's seat
[636] was transferred to Lingga, where it is today. In the beginning the sultan retained his authority over Johore and Pahang. With the Treaty of London of 1824, however, this was changed because the Netherlands ceded all its territory on Malacca to England in return for what England still held on Sumatra, namely, Benkulen.

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MI In 1830 a new treaty was concluded with the sultan of
648 Lingga, whereby monetary compensation for the loss of the two
636 territories (Johore and Pahang) was promised him.

The sovereign of Lingga bears the title of Jang dipertuwan besar or sultan of Lingga. He has his state in fee from the Government, which is authorized to depose him and to name his successor, who, however, must always belong to the ruling dynasty
MI and insofar as possible be chosen by succession.

MK The sultan is assisted by a state administrator with the
643 title Jang dipertuwan muda Riouw or Radja muda Riouw from the
645 dynasty of the Buginese princes. On these islands there are many
563 Buginese, whose settlement there [360] dates from the beginning of the seventeenth century, when they supported the Sultan of Lingga in a war with Siak. In 1720 one of the Buginese commanders was appointed viceroy of the state by the sultan, and since that time this office has always been held by a Buginese. The viceroy is recommended by the sultan and appointed by the Government. He has his seat on the island of Penjingat or Maro near Riouw.

MI The viceroy is not only the general state-administrator,
643 but he also has supreme control of the islands between the coast
645 of Sumatra and Singapore Strait and Dempo Strait in the China Sea, that is, the Riouw group (Bintan, Batam, Bulan, Gampang, Galang or Galah, Chombal, Sugi) and the Karimun Islands (Great and Small Karimun). The viceroy seems to have had proprietory
MI rights over these islands. The sultan more directly governs the
636 Lingga group (Lingga, Singkep, Sebangka, Sadjuwa, and Temiang).
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651 The sultan receives 35,000 guilders from the Government
563 in compensation for leases ceded to the country. Otherwise his

[375 cont.]
642 like. The way the liege lord summons his feudal tenants for a
423 festivity or war is peculiar. The invitation or summons is made
211 by means of bila-bila. Such a bila-bila is a strip of lontar leaf, in which a certain number of flat knots are tied. There are as many knots as there are days before the war starts or the festivity is to begin. There is a great difference in the way the feudal
576 tenant must take the bila-bila from the hand of the messenger or envoy of the liege lord, depending on whether it is a summons to war or an invitation to a festivity. The bila-bila for a festivity is taken by the royal feudal tenant with his right hand, while with the left hand he makes the motion used in dancing. The bila-bila for a war is accepted with the left hand, while he touches the kris with the right hand, the object being to demonstrate his devotion to the liege lord by dancing or swinging the kris. According to Dr. Matthes, bila-bila is a corruption of bilang-bilang, from bilang = to count, since the number of knots in the lontar leaf serve for calculating the number of days before the festivities or war will begin.

643 Otherwise, the government is organized the same as in
645 the Malay states. At the head stands a sovereign who is assisted by a state administrator and a state council. The general name in Makassarese for sovereign is karaëng, and in Buginese arung or patta (1). This is also the title, however, for a nongoverning

1. Since the type for the Buginese sound ᨅ is not in stock, the Buginese words that have this sound are spelled as above.

[376] prince. A ruling prince is karaëng mágaú (from gaú = deed, affair, and ágaú = to be active, to manage, and in Buginese, aru or patta mangkaú (the same radical gaú = deed, affair, and mágaú = to be active, to manage). The name of the state administrator is different in the various states and so is the composition of the state council. We shall now discuss the

[376 cont.]

643 645 government of some of the principal states, first Gowa, a remnant of the ancient and, before Speelman, powerful state of the Makassarese. The sovereign here is the Karaëng mágaũ. The state administrator here is called Tumá-bitjara-butta. The state council is called bate salapang, from bate = insignia, anything that serves as insignia, banner, and salapang = nine. The meaning is thus "nine banners," because each of the nine princes who make up the council carries a special banner.

Boni is a Buginese state. The sovereign is assisted by a state administrator, To-márilalang, from to = tau = man, márilalang = to be inside, from rilalang = within. To-márilalang = the person who is inside the inner rooms, that is, who stands in the most intimate, in the closest relationship, namely, with the sovereign. Furthermore, there is the state council, Aru pitu, literally, seven princes, because the council consists of seven princes. This council has great authority and deals with all governmental matters of any importance. The princes, members of the state council, are also the electors who choose a new sovereign. The Government then confirms their choice. This council can also recommend to the Government that a sovereign be removed. The state administrator, too, is appointed and dismissed in the same manner. Membership on the council is hereditary, in the female as well as in the male line.

Finally, we wish to discuss Soppeng. The sovereign here bears the title of polipuwe = the bottom (pong) of the trunk on which the land, lipu, rests, as though it were the rest of the tree (the whole is pong-lipu-we, we = e and serves as the definite article). The state administrator is called watalli-puwe, literally, that part of the trunk which is next to the pong and bears the name watang as though serving with the pong to support the whole tree, which [377] refers to land and people. The state council here consists of four electors and three high officials. The four electors are called pangebá, from the radical ebá = to carry on the arm, referring to a child. The name thus indicates that they look after the sovereign with as much care as a mother gives her

MK [377 cont.]
643 children. The other three are called pabitjara or council mem-
645 bers.

The government in the other states is the same with more or less deviation. Besides the sovereign, there is a state administrator as well as a state council which decides all important matters. No governmental act can be performed without its authorization. The members of the state council are also electors, and since they do not have to be concerned at all about the right of the first-born, the power of the sovereign is further reduced. As well as
MK by the state council, the power of the sovereign is further
642 weakened by the many feudal tenants. The form of government
643 is monarchal only in name, but is indeed entirely aristocratic.
645 There is one state where this is even completely the case, namely, Wadjo. Wadjo is wholly an aristocratic republic, governed by 40 princes (patta). The executive power, however, is vested in the six most important ones, the so-called patta-annange, at the head of which stands a president, aru mátowa or patta-mátowa. The other 33 are only summoned for deliberations about peace or war or other important events. A new patta is always chosen from among the nearest blood-relatives of his predecessor. The feudal system also prevails in Wadjo.

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On northern Celebes there are first the Gorontalese states, Gorontalo, Limboto, Bone, Attinggolo, and Boalemo; furthermore the small states along the north coast, Bolaang Mongondou, Bolaang Oeki, Bintaoena, Bolaang Itam, Kaidipan, and Boewoel. The government of all these states is fairly uniform. The sovereign bears the title of radja. Next to him is the state administrator, generally called djugugu. There are some other dignitaries, of whom the kapitan or commander of the fleet, who at the same time is commander of the troops on land, is the most important. In most of the states these high officials form a state council,
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[636] which [378] deals with the most important matters. These states, including the Gorontalese, are all bound to the Government by contract.